

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

66612

DRAFTED BY: NEA/PAB: RAPECK/MW

APPROVED BY: NEA:PDCONSTABLE

S/S: FORTIZ

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R 260155Z AUG 75 ZFF4

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

S E C R E T STATE 201499

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 201499 ACTION SECRETARY 23 AUG 75

QUOTE

S E C R E T STATE 201499 TOSEC 100089

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, US, PK

SUBJECT: TEXT OF AUGUST 17 LETTER FROM PRIME MINISTER
BHUTTO

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON FROM SOBER

1. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT FROM
PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO
ATED AUGUST 17, 1975. IT WAS
DELIVERED TO THE WHITE HOUSE AUGUST 22 BY THE PAKISTAN
EMBASSY.

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2. BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT,

I AM WRITING TO SHARE WITH YOU OUR APPREHENSIONS OVER THE

LIKELY SOVIET ROLE IN ASIA AFTER THE HELSINKI SUMMIT,
PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR REGION.

WE FEEL DEEPLY DISTURBED OVER THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN
AUTHORITARIAN SYSTEM IN INDIA ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE
GROWING HOSTILITY OF AN UNSTABLE AFGHAN REGIME TOWARDS
PAKISTAN ON THE OTHER. OUR FEARS ARE HEIGHTENED BY OUR
PERCEPTION OF THE INCREASING DEPENDENCE OF THESE TWO

REGIMES IN OUR IMMEDIATE NEIGHBOURHOOD ON THE SOVIET UNION
WITH WHICH THEY ARE ALLIED AND WHICH IS ENABLED BY THE
HELSINKI ACCORD TO PAY GREATER ATTENTION TO OUR REGION IN
PURSUANCE OF ITS HISTORIC OBJECTIVES AND GLOBAL AMBITIONS.
WE FORESEE THAT, ASSURED OF SECURITY IN EUROPE, THE SOVIET
UNION WILL RELENTLESSLY EXERT PRESSURES ON THE SMALLER
STATES OF ASIA AND ON PAKISTAN IN PARTICULAR, WITH A VIEW
TO ACHIEVING ITS PURPOSE OF ESTABLISHING AN UNCHALLENGABLE
SPHERE OF INFLUENCE IN THIS CONTINENT.

SITUATED AS WE ARE, WE CANNOT BUT BE CONSCIOUS OF SOVIET
DESIGNS AND THE NATURE OF SOVIET AMBITIONS IN ASIA, AND
WHAT THESE PORTEND FOR US. DESPITE THE SOVIET UNION'S
ROLE IN THE DISMEMBERMENT OF OUR COUNTRY IN 1971, WE HAVE,
WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES, LEFT
NO STONE UNTURNED TO IMPROVE OUR RELATIONS WITH IT IN
ORDER TO REDUCE ITS HOSTILITY TOWARDS PAKISTAN WHICH,
RIGHTLY OR WRONGLY, IT HAS REGARDED AS AN OBSTACLE IN THE
PATH OF ITS AMBITIONS IN ASIA. THIS ABOVE ALL WAS THE
PURPOSE OF MY VISIT TO MOSCOW IN MARCH 1972 AND AGAIN IN
OCTOBER LAST YEAR.

SOVIET GOALS AND AMBITIONS ARE INFLEXIBLE AND HARDLY
AMENABLE TO ANY BASIC CHANGE AS A RESULT OF THE EFFORTS OF
A SMALL COUNTRY SUCH AS OURS, WHICH IN THE INTEREST OF
THE PRESERVATION OF ITS OWN SOVEREIGNTY, NATIONAL
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INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY, HAS STOUTLY
DECLINED TO TOE THE SOVIET LINE. THE PASSAGE OF TIME
MAKES CLEARER BOTH THE EVER-GROWING THREAT TO OUR
EXISTENCE FROM MOSCOW'S EXPANSIONIST POLICIES AND THE
WOEFUL INADEQUACY OF OUR RESOURCES TO MEET THIS THREAT.

THE SOVIET UNION IS DETERMINED TO SUBJECT US TO INTENSI-
FIED PRESSURES WHILE CONTINUING TO BE OUTWARDLY AFFABLE.
THE MOST RECENT AND DISTURBING ILLUSTRATION OF THIS CAME
DURING RECENT EXCHANGES BETWEEN OUR DIPLOMATS AND THEIR
SOVIET COUNTER PARTS IN KABUL. OUR MINISTER WAS ASKED BY
HIS SOVIET COUNTER PART WHETHER PAKISTAN WOULD AGREE TO
CEDE SOME TERRITORY TO AFGHANISTAN. ON RECEIVING A FIRM
REPLY IN THE NEGATIVE THE SOVIET MINISTER THREW UP HIS
HANDS AND SAID, "THEN GOD ALONE KNOWS WHAT WILL HAPPEN."

WHEN OUR AMBASSADOR SOUGHT CLARIFICATION OF THE SOVIET ATTITUDE FROM THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, THE LATTER NOT ONLY ACCUSED PAKISTAN OF NOT WANTING TO IMPROVE RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN BUT WENT SO FAR AS TO ASSERT THAT THE DURAND AGREEMENT - DEFINING THE INTERNATIONAL FRONTIER BETWEEN AFGHANISTAN AND PAKISTAN - WAS A LEGACY OF THE COLONIAL TIMES WHICH PAKISTAN SHOULD NOT TRY TO DEFEND AND THAT THE DURAND LINE HAD BEEN FOISTED UPON THE AFGHANS, SINCE NO NATION WOULD, ACCORDING TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR, "WILLINGLY AGREE TO HAVE ITS OWN PEOPLE DIVIDED INTO TWO PARTS." THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT THE ASIAN SECURITY PACT WAS THE REAL AND THE ONLY ANSWER FOR ESTABLISHING PEACE AND SECURITY IN ASIA.

I HAVE NO DOUBT THAT THE UNITED STATES IS COGNIZANT OF THE SOVIET THREAT TO THE COUNTRIES OF THIS REGION AND IN PARTICULAR TO PAKISTAN WHICH HAS SO FAR STOOD ITS GROUND. WE GREATLY APPRECIATE THE VARIOUS STATEMENTS OF POLITICAL SUPPORT TO PAKISTAN WHICH WERE GIVEN TO US BY THE UNITED STATES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL TO COUNTER THE SOVIET THREAT. THE FACT, HOWEVER, NEEDS TO BE REGISTERED THAT THESE DECLARATIONS, VALUABLE THOUGH THEY ARE, SEEM TO HAVE MADE LITTLE IMPACT ON SOVIET EXPANSIONISM. SOVIET POLICIES CONTINUE TO BE STRIDENTLY ASSERTED AND SOVIET PURPOSES AGGRESSIVELY REITERATED.

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IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, OUR ABILITY TO RESIST SOVIET PRESSURES WILL DEPEND NOT SO MUCH ON THE RELIANCE WE PLACE ON THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ASSURANCES AS ON THE CREDIBILITY THE SOVIET UNION ATTACHES TO THEM. THE LACK OF A CREDIBLE EVIDENCE OF SUPPORT FROM THE U.S. ENCOURAGES THE SOVIET UNION TO EXPECT THAT THE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS OF PAKISTAN WOULD COMPEL US TO MAKE READJUSTMENTS DEMANDED BY THE CHANGING POWER EQUILIBRIUM IN OUR REGION.

I NEED HARDLY ASSURE YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, OF HOW MUCH WE CHERISH OUR RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE SINCERELY HOPE THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE TO EXPAND AND GAIN STRENGTH IN THE COMING MONTHS AND WILL BE SUSTAINED BY OUR COMMITMENTS TO THE GOALS AND OBJECTIVES OF PEACE AND STABILITY WHICH WE SHARE.

WITH MY BEST WISHES AND WARMEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

YOURS SINCERELY, ZULFIKAR ALI BHUTTO.

END TEXT. VAW

UNQUOTE. INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 26 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, TEXT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, CAT-C, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 26 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: WorrelSW
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE201499
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: NEA/PAB: RAPECK/MW
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 XGDS-3
Errors: n/a
Film Number: N750003-0466
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197508101/baaaasyn.tel
Line Count: 164
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: WorrelSW
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 MAY 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <12 MAY 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <07 OCT 2003 by WorrelSW>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: PFOR, US, PK, AG, IN, UR, (FORD, GERALD R), (BHUTTO, ALI)
To: ISLAMABAD
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006